/120 cont./

144 mother, but that among his forefathers, as among Reginaldo's, mixture with "Brazilian" blood had taken place. This, however, seemed to be more a conclusion based on the wavy, soft hair of the two, rather than on definite knowledge. In any case, it was noteworthy that Luis declared the two brothers João and Antonio to be the purest Bakaïrí; to me, too, they had seemed the most typical physiognomies and most resembled the Rio Novo charac-
126 ter. Since Antonio is the one who was induced to accompany us
[142] and could thus be photographed in Rio, I may call attention to his picture as the most faithful reproduction of a true Bakaïrí.
[732] Unfortunately the handsome youth had a slightly shortened leg as the result of a fracture, so I contented myself with a bust portrait. The defect was not very pronounced, by the way, and /121/ /illustration appears here/ /122/ the awkwardness that Antonio, strength and agility themselves, presents in full figure amidst the group of Kameraden /see the glossary, p. 171 / (page 28) is largely due to the anxious moment in front of the photographer's apparatus.

Wilhelm made all the other portraits with the camera clara.

162 Carlotta was a Parecí brought back from Diamantino and the wife of the absent Captain Felipe; her small eyes and the root of her nose, which was flat from eyebrow level to the inner corner of the eye, distinguished her strikingly from the Bakaïrí
[148] women. The two Cajibí -- a tribe that lives on the lower Rio Verde, a left tributary of the Paranatinga -- had been caught in the forest as children. /Illustration appears here./ The two
[538] young and pretty creatures were given as wives to the two oldest matrimonial cripples of the tribe, Caetano and Miguel, for the immoral reason that the youngest, as the best workers, belong to the mightier ones. Delicate skin, fine little nose under the likewise flat root, eye slits narrowed and drawn up toward the outside, in connection with which, however, the sharply folded upper lid did not overlap, they reminded one of the Japanese type, especially Caetano's not very feminine little wife.

[Text continues on p. 20]

/331 cont./

*171 622 not always in the best hands, and goes to the son, or, if there is none, to the son of the sister. In Maigéri the chief had died and left only a daughter, "my intended" in the Bakaïrí idyl. Tumayaua, the brother of the widow, now became temporary chief; as soon as the girl married, her husband took his place. She received a quantity of the beads which we had given to others; the chief's stool belonged to her.

*171 611 648 A number of characteristics of matriarchy are recognizable in the little that I am able to report about these conditions. The sons belong to the tribe of the mother; Antonio said that if one of the Bakaïrí /Bacairi/ married to Paressí women had children, they would be Paressí. Which, of course, in the case of abducted

*171 ● 582 648 women, can only be meant very theoretically. In our time marriages took place between Mehinakú and Nahuquá, between Auetö and Yaulapiti, as well as between Kamayurá /Camayura/, and Auetö, between Kamayurá and Mehinakú, between Batovy Bakaïrí and Kustenaú /Custenau/, between Kulisehu Bakaïrí and

171 591 648 Nahuquá. Just as Mehinakú women lived among the Nahuquá, so had Auetö men married Yaulapiti women and lived in two houses somewhat apart from the Auetö village; they were called "Arauití." On the other hand, a Kustenaú man and a Nahuquá

*The Suyá chief who in 1884 gave us the map of the river course was also called an "Arauití" by the Auetö chief. His strikingly small lip-plug was explained by the fact that he had had the operation later, he himself tracing his geographical knowledge back to his own journeys.

man had married and lived among the Bakaïrí, whereas we never observed the opposite, that Bakaïrí women married into

*171 591 844 another tribe. Pauhaga, from the first Bakaïrí village on the Batovy, had as his wife Awía's daughter from Maigéri and, when his wife was ready to give birth, came with her to Awiá's house on the Kulisehu, so that she, or rather both of them, as we shall

*171 591 844 /331 cont./ see, could occupy the lying-in room at the home of the parents-in-law. Although the people lived in monogamy and the father
*171 604 was the head of the family, the mother's brother was still regarded as equal to the father as a protector of the child and in
[593] any case, if the father died, assumed all responsibilities until the children were grown. He, not the mother, was in charge of their property.

*171 601 Among all the tribes, older and younger brothers had different designations. The younger brother was on the same level as the cousin and had a name in common with him. The Bakaïrí
*171 123 602 called me "older brother" and later in the third village also "grandfather"; the Mehinakú called me "uncle" (mother's brother). My traveling companions were always called my "younger brothers or cousins" and were also addressed in this way by the Indians themselves.

*171 583 585 Marriages were concluded without wedding celebrations; the parents, first the fathers, then the mothers, talk matters over, and the father of the bride receives /332/ arrows and stone axes; the bridegroom must also work with him in the clearing "to show that he knows how," he hangs his hammock above that of the girl, and everything is in order. That older men have young
*171 582 wives and younger men older wives was clearly pronounced only on the Paranatinga, but not on the Kulisehu (this prerogative of the old thus appears only with the decline of the tribe). At least the few matrimonial unions with which I became more closely
586 acquainted in Maigéri were evenly matched. Divorce among the Bakaïrí takes place without any trouble, it was said, even if the husband is not in favor of it. "The woman leaves, perhaps he will catch her again."

*171 562 [593] I have spoken earlier about the division of labor between the sexes; cf. pp. 216 ff. The woman did not occupy an undignified position. The husband let her carry a larger load than he himself carried, he kept her away from the flute house where the men consulted, smoked, celebrated festivals, and where strangers were lodged, he was her lord and master -- and he did what she wanted. When Martius says that the woman does not occupy an inferior position "in spite of slavish subordination as a result of

/262 cont./

601 In their kinship system the Bakairí distinguished parallel
605 cousins (paigo and koro or iri and iia, for men or women, respectively for male or female Ego) from cross cousins (pama and imiapi or eisambi and ierudu, for men and women, respectively for male or female Ego). The former were
601 identified with brothers and sisters, respectively. The term
604 referring to the father, chogo, was extended to the father's brother, and the term referring to the mother, seko, was extended to the mother's sister. On the other hand, the mother's brother, kogo, and the father's sister, iupuri, got special
601 designations. There were special terms for male or female Ego, in Ego's generation (as we have already seen), and in the first descending generation. Thus the children of male Ego and those of Ego's brother were called imeri, without distinction of sex, while the children of Ego's sister were called tekau and uasi, respectively for the boy and girl. For female Ego, her children, as well as the children of Ego's sister, were called imeri, while Ego's brother's children were uadoin and uasi, respectively for boy and girl. In the second ascending
[603] generation, the grandparents were distinguished according to sex, being called tako and nigo, respectively, for man and woman. In the second descending generation a single term, iveri, designated all individuals.

• 582 Marriage between cross cousins was common but not preferential. According to the data we obtained, there do not
606 seem to have been among the Bakairí any special rules concern-
591 ing residence or taboos referring to the father-in-law or mother-in-law, or moieties or clans. Marriage was usually monogamous,
595 although polygamous unions were allowed. Judging by the Xinguano tribes, it is probable that such polygamous unions assumed the form of a sororate.

784 /263/ The life cycle of the Bakairí was characterized by a series of seclusions, or uanki ("confinement"), during which individuals were protected against the numerous supernatural dangers that surrounded them.

/263 cont./

about three centimeters square made of tree bark. After the seclusion boys and girls were eligible for /264/ marriage. Marriage, todohokûinle, was joined by the parents of the young people by means of an exchange of gifts, and itdoes not seem to have merited any special ceremony.

The Bakairí do not seem to have believedin the possibility of a natural death. After death, which was always caused by the sorcery of some enemy, the corpse was painted and attired in the finery used in life. The corpse was rolled up in the hammock used by the deceased, and buried with the head pointing west and the feet east. There followed a mourning period, during which the closer relatives remained uanki and from which they emerged through the tadaunûb feast.

The world of the Bakairí was surrounded by supernatural beings, good and evil, such as the iamûra, topehe, karoui, kadopa, and kilaimo. (5) Plants and animals were nothing but

5. Capistrano de Abeu, "Os Bacaerys," Revista Brasileira, Year I, Vol. 4, pp. 44, 45, 47, 48, 234, 240, 241. Rio de Janeiro, 1895.

drapery used by the iamura and kadopa. Hunting, fishing, and agricultural activities thus had to be accompaned by propitiatory activities intended to appease the anger of theiamûra deprived of their animals and plants. On the other hand, karoui and kilaimo wandered through the forest menacing the Bakairí. Against such beings the Indians required the protection of their sorcerer-doctors as well as periods of seclusion in the most dangerous moments.

The Bakairí believed that men had two souls: one called kati or kutuiu, heavier and thicker, corresponding to a camisa worn by the second soul, kagatopuri, a more fluid element that

61 There appears to be no evidence that the Bacairí
601 had clans or moieties. The kinship nomenclature
is of the bifurcate merging type with parallel kin
merged with lineal kin and with separate terms for
mother's brother and father's sister and for cross
cousins. (See chart 3.) The kinship terms in ego's
generation and in the children's generation are dis-
582 tinct for men and women. Beyond the bar pro-
hibiting marriage between anyone called brother,
sister, parent, or child, there were no special rules
governing marriage. Cross-cousin marriage was
591 common but not preferred. There were no resi-
606 dence rules or avoidances of the mother-in-law or
father-in-law. As the Bacairí lived in large com-
592 munal houses, marriages often took place between
[593] young people brought up in the same house. After
[591] marriage they would take over a section of the
house as their private quarters. The Bacairí say
that families could move to another house with the
595 consent of the house elder. Although polygyny
was permissible marriages were generally monog-
593 amous. The father and the father's brother had
604 great authority and were highly respected.
Younger brothers were not permitted to joke or
play rough with their eldest brother. The mother's
brother and father's sister were also respected but
593 less than the eldest brother. The relationship
835 between brothers and sisters was one of great
respect, the informant saying that incest was un-
thinkable.

THE LIFE CYCLE

BIRTH (ERAHÉLLI)

643 Pregnancy (*enokáu*) was recognized as being
[642] caused by sexual intercourse. In advanced
pregnancy a woman was not permitted to eat the
flesh of such large animals as deer, capybara, or
649 tapir. When the time of delivery drew near a
portion of the house was screened off, where the
woman gave birth and remained secluded until the
normal menses began. The expectant mother was
assisted by her mother and other female relatives,
[705] a shaman being called only in cases of difficult
birth.

A woman gave birth in a squatting position, the midwife holding her under the arms and gently pressing her stomach. Sometimes the stomach and back of the woman were bathed with poultices made from boiled cotton leaves. It was the duty of the woman's mother to cut the umbilical cord

881 The release from seclusion was signalized by the feast of *tadaunúto*. The parents of the young people accumulated much food and went on a big hunt on the day before the feast. The chief and all the villagers were invited to the ceremony during which all the Bacairí songs and dances were performed and the young people were presented gifts by the villagers. The girls would now take the strings of beads from around their waists and wear them around their necks and their mothers would give them cotton cords which they put around their hips and to which the uluri were attached. The boys and girls were now eligible for marriage.

MARRIAGE (TODOHOKÛINLE)

584 Marriages were arranged by parents or by older brothers or sisters. The father and mother of the boy, for instance, would take presents of ornaments and food to the parents of the girl. If the parents of the girl accepted the gifts it meant that they favored the marriage, and if they refused it meant that the suitor was not acceptable. 585 The marriage ceremony took place in the girl's home, the date being arranged by the parents. At the girl's house the young couple were seated side by side with linked arms. They were then given advice by their respective parents and relatives. Marriage was not considered a period of ritual danger, nor were extensive feasts given. It appears to have been an affair involving only the families of the young couple.

BURIAL (EPIODÎLE)

764 The body was painted, ornaments were put on, and then the body was wrapped in a hammock and buried in a grave with the feet to the east so that the face would be toward the rising sun. 768 Although old and worn objects were burnt, most of the property of the dead was shared among the relatives. The part of the house occupied by the dead person was washed, and clean sand was sprinkled on the floor. 765 There was a mourning period (*legíno*) of 1 month, during which the immediate relatives were in a state of *udaki*. [1]

SHAMANISM

775 When a person died, the ghost (*kodépe*) went into the sky or into the water or sometimes wandered upon the earth. Ghosts of the dead often

[1] [ie. a state of ritual danger]

SP8 Bororo
Yaruma SP5
Bacairi SP7

with ashes, letting the hair grow long and over the face, and keeping away from the sight of men. During this period she is taught by the old women the various duties that fall to the lot of women. Everyone in the village, men and women, feels a responsibility toward her, and watch her development with sympathetic interest. Numerous gifts are made to her so that she may become more desirable to the men. The boys undergo a corresponding ceremony, but very little data was obtained concerning it. Y 881

The method of seeking a girl in marriage seems to be as follows: After the man has given the girl's parents some presents, and has received some encouragement from the girl, at nightfall he goes to her house and hangs his hammock below hers. They sleep that way that night. On the following day, if the girl accepts the proposal she hangs her hammock below his. That being a sign that she has accepted, they cohabit that night, and are accepted as man and wife by the community. They live with the girl's parents until the man is ready to build a house of his own. Probably there are other ceremonial performances to be gone through, but a marriage not having been witnessed, no more information was had on this point. Y 584 591 171 105

For the boys, marriage occurs later, since often there are no girls in that community or a friendly community available for marriage. Sometimes it is the male who is lacking, and in that case the girl fares badly. However, in most of the marriages the couple seemed to be of about the same age. Only among the Bakairi did I note that several of my young cancemen were married to much older women. Lack of marriageable women in a community often brings about a raid on another community. In the Trumai village I found a girl hidden away in one of the houses in a special compartment. She refused to go outside. It developed that she had been married to a Kamayaura, had had a son by him who was then living with her, while the husband had died. Having no protectors in the tribe she ran away to her own people, but was kept in hiding lest the Kamayaura learn of her whereabouts and attack the village. Y 105 171 582 721 B [582]

The usual form of marriage is monogamous. It is a purely practical custom. The middle-aged men, and the headmen often have two wives, but only if they can support that number and the children that may come from that union. A second wife is desired principally for the sake Y 595 105 171